11: Haguenauer--38-39 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 727, 769 Atayal

Cries of joy welcomed the return of the fortunate warriors. The villagers went out to greet them, and accompanied them to the house of the murderer, who was the hero of the day. The village chief and the members of the expedition made a circle around the head. They apologized to it, and offered it wine. The head was placed above a receptacle, the jaws were opened, and it was given millet wine. When this fell into the receptacle, it was passed [39] around in a circle, and all the heroes drank it. But it was not drunk in any ordinary way; the warriors took it two by two, and from the same cup, so this rite was really like a vow, in which they pledged to fight together like brothers. Meanwhile, the inhabitants were almost delirious. The women had brought millet wine and food; a large feast was held, and the spirit of the dead was invited to share in it. They begged it to drink, feast, and to invite the spirits of its relatives to the party. This banquet was followed by a dance, in which the women participated as well as the men. Everyone joined hands, and made a big circle, then the dance consisted of turning around and singing. They circled three times from left to right, then three times from right to left, etc. The festival lasted until the supply of food was exhausted.

11: Haguenauer--39-40 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 349, 727, 769 Atayal

The clean skull was placed in the midst of a collection of them which the Tayal kept on a special set of shelves that was erected a little outside each village. The new addition was covered with a little roof of leaves, and offerings of millet and millet wine were placed in front of it. The village chief and the members of the expedition gathered in front of the shelves and summoned the spirit of the victim. They asked it to descend by a "spirit ladder" which was placed at one of the ends of the shelves; it consisted of a short bamboo stem to which skeins of hemp had been fastened at various intervals to serve as rungs. When the spirit had come down, they invited it to eat and drink with them. And then they requested it to be kind to them, and to invite [40] the spirits of the members of its family to come and join it. In this way the warriors ensured the success of the next expedition.

So we see that the capture of a head was not an act of savagery, nor was it purely a matter of individual glorification. It is true that the successful hunter had a right to be tattooed as a warrior, or if he already had this distinction, he might give his head to a younger man so that the latter might have this signal honor. But head hunting was essentially an enterprise which was imbued with a very special kind of religious meaning. It was done with the approbation of the souls of the ancestors, and it was an affair which concerned the whole community.

11: Haguenauer--40 [2] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 695, 721, 769 Atayal

Head hunting was such a sacred practice that it could only be carried on under certain circumstances:

1. to please the spirits of the departed ancestors, and to ensure their protection;
2. to be able to enter the abode of the souls after death;
3. so that the community would have a good harvest;
4. to determine the innocence of an accused man, or to decide which one of two adversaries was right; the spirits will permit the innocent man to get a head while the guilty person will not succeed.

16: Müller--238 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 769

Just as all possible means are used to prevent the mischief of evil spirits, so everything is done to obtain the favor and blessing of the beneficent spirits. The natives, therefore, devote special festivals to the spirits of their ancestors.

16: Müller--238-240 U-3 (no date) 1910 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 796, 769 Tsuo

Among the Tso'o aborigines there are three festivals to propitiate beneficent spirits every year. The most important of these at the same time marks the time when the harvest of millet begins; it is held under the sacred tree [239] which is the habitat of the spirits. To prepare for this festival the women brew the wine made from millet with many ceremonies, using millet which they have chewed beforehand to ferment it. On the day of the festival the unmarried young men ring a bell and all the heads of families start out for the sacred tree. They carry a bunch of Calamus reeds [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] tied together with fiber; the Calamus must be grown under the sacred tree. When they have arrived at the tree, the village elder sacrifices a bamboo cup filled with wine made of millet, murmuring incantations at the same time; during this time the others kneel down. After this everyone plants his Calamus under the sacred tree. On the following day [240] the young men again ring the bell and all the inhabitants, dressed in their holiday attire, assemble in the house of the chieftain. The oldest man in the village and the chieftain then sing a song in praise of the ancestral spirits. After this, all the participants form a solemn procession and march to the hut of the unmarried men where they dance around a fire. On the last day of the festival a banquet and a drinking bout are held.

In Polysia, the festival in honor of the ancestral spirits is somewhat different. On the first day there is a race for the boys, and the victor is given a red flat. On the second day the people assemble in the chieftain's house. There they knead viscous rice with their hands in a solemn fashion and give it the shape of a fish; the chieftain then cuts off the head and tail of the fish and distributes the body among those present. He puts the head and tail in a basket which he attaches to a bundle of Calamus. [MC: the sweet flag (Acorus Calamus)] After that he leads the people to the sacred tree; everyone carries a single Calamus reed. A huge stone lies under the tree.* Then the rites connected

* In the mythology of the natives, a huge stone under a tree is connected with the origin of headhunting. They say that this stone once split in half and a woman arose from it. The children of this woman had a feud which was arbitrated by an ordeal. He was to be the victor who would kill the greatest number of bears on a bear-hunting expedition. Later, when the Chinese came to this island and their strength and knowledge was compared to that of bears, the Chinese became the objects of the hunt.

with the offering begin. The young men present their Calamus to the chieftain and then turn around. The chieftain places his own offering of Calamus and rice and that of the others on the sacred stone, murmuring incantations at the same time. Then he pushes

his spear into the lower part of the tree trunk, and at the same time all the young men run home with loud shouts. On the third day of the festival, they hunt for stags. They make an offering of the stag, or, if they have not been successful, of a pig, to the spirits of their ancestors. The fourth and last day of the festival is a gay one: the people eat, drink, and dance as long as they can.

18: Kakyo--71 [3] E-2 (no date) 1899 Formosan Aborigines
116, 775, 769

The distress and the happiness, the fortune and misfortune of all men are attributed by the Formosan aborigines to the influence of these devilish forces. [MC: i. e., spirits of the dead.].

To attain happiness and ward off misfortune, they honor the spirits of their ancestors.

This enables us to recognize that the Formosa natives are already on the way to developing a cult of their ancestors.

21: Asai--4-5 L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 177, 241, 769, 796

"A special ceremony takes place just after the harvest. In such ceremonies, wine and foods are offered to the souls of the ancestors, who live in the land of the dead. The people chant [5] ceremonial songs to make the souls come to the village. The dances last sometimes 24 hours in one week successively in Saisiyat. This is called the period of pastaai. The people bring rice and cooking utensils. The festival usually takes place in November. Through Chinese influence, there are sometimes two festivals, spring and autumn."

21: Asai--6 [3] L-5 (1935-46) 1950 Formosan Aborigines
116, 171, 769

"There is a connection between the Formosan festival for the dead and the Urabon festival in Japan. When Buddhism was brought to Japan, the Japanese already had a festival honoring the dead, and they took up the Buddhistic form, though in India it was not very important. Much the same thing happened in Java until about the 10th century, when Islam was introduced."

24: Anonymous--91 U-3 (no date) 1892 Formosan Aborigines
116, 551, 601, 769, 805

The aborigines of Formosa are very different from the Chinese. They have no family names and no calandar or units of time like ours. The aborigines recognize no other degree of relationship except that of parents, they do not offer sacrifices to their ancestors, and they are not even able to tell their own age.

39: Wiedfeldt--15-16 F-3 (1913) 1917 Formosan Aborigines
116, 241, 769, 778 Atayal

There is a trace of ancestor worship in the tribal celebrations and also in the clan celebrations, which...are held for such members of the clan as can not attend the tribal celebration. Members of other tribes are not permitted to attend these celebrations, which unite all the members of the tribe, even if they were members before marriage. In the festival of the millet planting the chief of the tribe is said to thrust four bamboo stakes into the ground in a field that has been cleared of weeds early in the morning. Into the square thus formed he pours millet wine and millet mush, and standing in the middle, he says: "According to old customs and usages handed down to us we celebrate today, as our ancestors in this land have always celebrated. We thank our ancestors that we and our children are well. We wish that the millet which we are planting may bring us a rich harvest. We wish that our ancestors would protect us against illness. We thank our ancestors from the bottom of our hearts." Then he says to the assembled members of the tribe] "Everything is done", and they drink to gether the millet wine which they have brought with them. The harvest celebration is the same, except that the wish for a rich harvest is replaced by a prayer of thanks. In spite of my efforts, I have never been able to find out how they think their ancestors will protect them against illness or just how they procure them a rich harvest. I have also not been able to determine whether any special festivals or religious acts take place on Mt. Sylvia, which according to the Japanese is sacred to the Atayals. [16] The Atayals themselves say nothing about it, and foreigners have not yet penetrated that far into Atayal territory.

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

the other gods; both he and other informants failed to indicate any practice of sun-worship[3]. The second type of *kawas* are ancestral gods, called *tatakusan*. The Tavarong Ami worship their ancestors, especially the first ancestors *lotiʂ* and *rarakan*; these latter live among the Ami, although they are invisible. *ʂikawasai* (shamans) have their special gods[4]. It is clear, therefore, that the Ami have a well-developed theogony, a trait not found among the other aboriginal tribes of Formosa[5].

One who dies an unnatural death will become a *karia* or evil spirit. A person can contract an illness on encountering a *karia*.

Each individual possesses a soul, called *doŋɛ*.[6] If one's *doŋɛ* weakens, one will become sick; and if one's *doŋ* should escape from the body, one will die. In this connection, Furuno (1942: 19-23) reported that among the Ami, each human being has two souls, one on the left and one on the right shoulder. The one on the right shoulder is the good soul, and the one on the left the bad. The *karia*, or evil spirits, are the souls on the left shoulders of those who died an unnatural death.[7]

Shamanism

Religious activities are carried out by *ʂikawasai*, or shamans, and *kakita:n*, or priests. The functions of both are well-defined. A *ʂikawasai* is consulted mainly to strengthen or call back the *doŋɛ* of a sick person. In this sense, the *ʂikawasai* may be defined as medicine-men. The *kakita:n* manage the Ami religious ceremonies, most of which are agricultural in nature. A *ʂikawasai* is believed to have been chosen by a dead *ʂikawasai* or by the *ʂikawasai* gods. When a young boy or girl contracts a chronic illness, he (or she) is regarded as having been chosen, and it is believed that that individual be cured by becoming a *ʂikawasai*. This child will then be taught the techniques by an older *ʂikawasai*. In the first year of his apprenticeship, until the next *irisiŋ* (the Ami New Year), a taboo on the eating of fish and vegetables must be observed. He is also required to pursue hard labor and to abstain from washing the body. A primary qualification for a *ʂikawasai* is the ability to achieve a state of delirium.

There are today approximately ten *ʂikawasai* in Tavarong, seven men and three women. Oikawa's contention that there are more female than male *ʂikawasai*

3. Furuno [1945:20] recorded the following belief from the Hsiu-ku-luan Ami: "*tʃidar*" the sun, gave life to human beings, animals, and plants. We think that she is a *kawas*, too. Rituals cannot be carried on without *tʃidar*. The *kakita:n* call on *tʃidar* in the *irisiŋ*. At harvest time, we gave thanks to this goddess."
4. Sayama [1914] listed the names of two *ʂikawasai* gods, *saoripa* and *sororazol*.
5. Mabuchi [1934-35] discusses this theogony.
6. Furuno [1940:19-21] and Mabuchi [1934-35] recorded the *doŋɛ* as a goddess.
7. This belief is found among other Formosan tribes. For a Bunun example, see Mabuchi [1951:55].

51: Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
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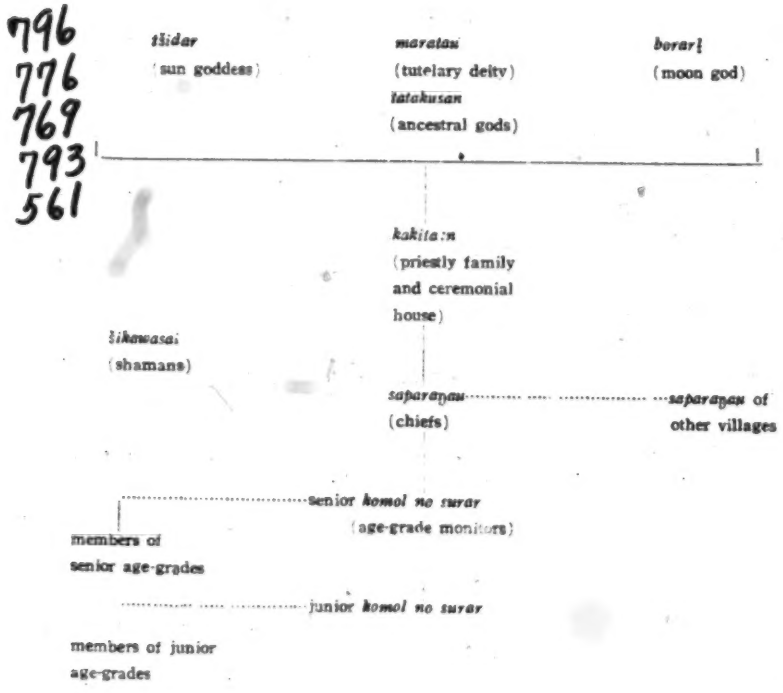

Figure 2: the Ami hierarchy at *irisiŋ*

51:Chen and Coe E-5 (1953)1954 AD1 Formosa
Formosan Aborigines AD4

purified through fasting, symbolical washing of hands, and shamanistic expulision of disease. The structure of the Ami universe is at this time stated as a hierarchy in which each rank of seniority hands down precepts to be obeyed by the next lower rank [see Figure 2]. At the top level, for among the Ami the spiritual world is continuous with the material, are the sun goddess, the moon god, and *maratau*, the tutelary deity who instructed men in the order of things on earth. With them are the *tatakusan*, the ancestral gods who are to be respected as elders and whose way of life is to be followed. Under these were the *kakita:n*, the priestly families who carried out the will of the gods in this world. The rest of the Ami were arranged by seniority into a system of age-grades, each with its chosen monitor, and each harkening to the instructions passed down from the next senior age-grade. Acting as intermediaries between the priests and the laity were the *saparaŋau*, leaders of proven ability selected from the ranks of the elder grades. This structure was annually affirmed symbolically in the *irisiŋ*, and it clear that it was basically gerontocratic in nature, in that the real power was in the hands of old men.

All this is of course now passing away, and element after element of the old Ami way of life is either disappearing or being reinterpreted to meet new conditions. In the realm of social organization, for instance, there is a definite drift in Tavarong and other Ami areas towards patrilineal descent and neolocality, a change fostered by Japanese and Chinese pressure. Ami religion is fast changing, and the *kakita:n* house itself is an unused, half-forgotten relic of interest primarily only to ethnographers. Shamanism for some as yet unexplaind reason has persisted; this is a field for further study.

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